Date/Time Stamp:

Date: September 14, 2021

SENATORS AND OFFICERS POST-TRAVEL DISCLOSURE OF TRAVEL EXPENSES

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I HAVE MADE A DETERMINATION THAT THE TRAVEL DESCRIBED ABOVE WAS IN CONNECTION WITH MY DUTIES AS AN OFFICEHOLDER, AND DID NOT CREATE THE APPEARANCE THAT I WAS USING PUBLIC OFFICE FOR PRIVATE GAIN.

9/13/21

(Date)

(Signature of Senator)Officer)

Date: September 14, 2021

PRIVATE SPONSOR TRAVEL CERTIFICATION FORM

This form must be completed by any private entity offering to provide travel or reimbursement for travel to Senate Members, officers, or employees (Senate Rule 35, clause 2). Each sponsor of a fact-finding trip must sign the completed form. The trip sponsor(s) must provide a copy of the completed form to each invited Senate traveler, who will then forward it to the Ethics Committee with any other required materials. The trip sponsor(s) should **NOT** submit the form directly to the Ethics Committee. Please consult the accompanying instructions for more detailed definitions and other key information.

The Senate Member, officer, or employee **MUST** also provide a copy of this form, along with the appropriate travel authorization and reimbursement form, to the Office of Public Records (OPR), Room 232 of the Hart Building, within thirty (30) days after the travel is completed.

1.	Sponsor(s) of the trip (please list all sponsors):
	The Aspen Institute, Inc. (Congressional Program)
2.	Description of the trip: See attached appendix
3.	Dates of travel: September 9-12, 2021
4.	Place of travel: San Diego, California
5.	Name and title of Senate invitees: Sen. Tom Carper
6.	 I certify that the trip fits one of the following categories: (A) The sponsor(s) are not registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal and do not retain or employ registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal and no lobbyist or agents of a foreign principal will accompany the Member, officer, or employee at any point throughout the trip.
7.	I certify that the trip will not be financed in any part by a registered lobbyist or agent of a foreign principal. -AND- I certify that the sponsor or sponsors will not accept funds or in-kind contributions earmarked directly or indirectly for the purpose of financing this specific trip from a registered lobbyist or agent of a foreign principal or from a private entity that retains or employs one or more registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal.
8.	 I certify that: The trip will not in any part be planned, organized, requested, or arranged by a registered lobbyist or agent of a foreign principal except for de minimis lobbyist involvement. AND - The traveler will not be accompanied on the trip by a registered lobbyist or agent of a foreign principal except as provided for by Committee regulations relating to lobbyist accompaniment (see question 9).

9.	USE ONLY IF YOU CHECKED QUESTION 6(B) I certify that if the sponsor or sponsors retain or employ one or more registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal, one of the following scenarios applies:
	 (A) The trip is for attendance or participation in a one-day event (exclusive of travel time and one overnight stay) and no registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal will accompany the Member, officer, or employee <i>on any segment</i> of the trip. − OR −
	 □ (B) The trip is for attendance or participation in a one-day event (exclusive of travel time and two overnight stays) and no registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal will accompany the Member, officer, or employee on any segment of the trip (see questions 6 and 10). - OR -
	(C) The trip is being sponsored only by an organization or organizations designated under § 501(c)(3) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 and no registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal will accompany the Member, officer, or employee <i>at any point</i> throughout the trip.
10.	USE ONLY IF YOU CHECKED QUESTION 9(B) If the trip includes two overnight stays, please explain why the second night is practically required for Senate invitees to participate in the travel:
11.	An itinerary for the trip is attached to this form. I <i>certify</i> that the attached itinerary is a detailed (hourby-hour), complete, and final itinerary for the trip.
12.	Briefly describe the role of each sponsor in organizing and conducting the trip:
	The Aspen Institute Congressional Program (AICP) is the sole sponsor of this conference and developed
	the agenda, organized the travel, planned the conference, and invited the participants.
	See attached appendix
13.	Briefly describe the stated mission of each sponsor and how the purpose of the trip relates to that mission: The Aspen Institute, Inc., is a non-profit organization, and its broad mission is conducting
	nonpartisan forums and the exchange of ideas on issues impacting the U.S. and the world.
	See attached appendix
14.	Briefly describe each sponsor's prior history of sponsoring congressional trips: AICP has conducted international and domestic conferences for members of Congress for over 35 years.
	On occasion, other policy programs of The Aspen Institute, Inc. sponsor conferences that involve
	members of Congress.

20. Reason(s) for selecting hotel or other lodging facility: This hotel offers the required private meeting and dining space and conference technology. Security a key factor.

RECEIVED BY: SECRETARY OF THE SENATE

Date: September 14, 2021

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Appendix

Senate Private Sponsor Travel Certification Form San Diego – Aspen Institute Congressional Program

Question 2: Description of the trip

Members of Congress along with scholars from UC-San Diego's 21st Century China Center and other experts will look at China and U.S. policy in multiple arenas including technology, China's global role, its human rights policies, and Taiwan and the Indo-Pacific, as well as views of our allies and their policies towards China.

Question 12: Briefly describe the role of each sponsor in organizing and conducting the trip.

The Aspen Institute has received general support and unrestricted funds from the Democracy Fund foundation, Henry Luce foundation and Rockefeller Brothers Fund foundation to support the Aspen Institute Congressional Program. These foundation funds were not earmarked for a specific trip and these foundations did not participate in organizing or conducting the trip.

Question 13: Briefly described the state mission of each sponsor and how the purpose of the trip relates to that mission.

Aspen Institute Congressional Program (AICP) is a program of the Aspen Institute, Inc. that provides nonpartisan educational conferences and educational forums for members of Congress and senior congressional staff members. The San Diego conference, "Strengthening the Foundation for Long-Term Strategic Competition with China," will examine federal policies regarding China, and how that country impacts the world in terms of global competition, human rights, and international trade.

Question 15: Briefly describe the educational activities performed by each sponsor (other than sponsoring congressional trips)

AICP, specifically, offers nonpartisan educational events for members of Congress and senior congressional staff members, with each event offering a leading scholar on a key domestic or international issue.

Question 16: Break down of transportation expenses

Sen. Tom Carper: Air travel San Diego to Philadelphia - \$500 Ground transportation in San Diego from/to airport: \$50

Mrs. Carper: Air travel: Air travel San Diego to Philadelphia - \$500 ground transportation in San Diego from/to airport: \$50

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STRENGTHENING THE FOUNDATION FOR LONG-TERM STRATEGIC COMPETITION WITH CHINA

Agenda as of 8/6/21

THE ASPEN INSTITUTE CONGRESSIONAL PROGRAM September 9-12, 2021 San Diego, California

THURSDAY, September 9:

Participants travel to San Diego

Sen. Carper and Mrs. Carper join the conference at 6 pm

6:00 - 7:00 pm

Pre-Dinner Remarks

FRAMING THE CHALLENGE

Most U.S. policymakers seem to agree that the U.S.-China relationship is fundamentally contentious. Far less clear is the nature of the Chinese threat, what exactly the two superpowers are competing over, how long the struggle will last, what costs must be paid in order to prevail, and what outcome the U.S. should aspire to reach.

- Should America aim to win or to manage bilateral competition?
- What does "winning" this competition look like?
- What role does the U.S.-China friction play in U.S. politics? And in China?
- In what areas can the U.S. and China still cooperate?

Susan Shirk, Chair, 21st Century China Center University of California at San Diego

7:00 - 9:00 pm

Working Dinner

Seating is arranged to expose participants to a diverse range of views and to provide the opportunity for a meaningful exchange of ideas. Scholars and lawmakers are rotated daily. Discussion will focus on the opportunities, challenges, and potential solutions regarding long-term strategic competition with China.

FRIDAY, September 10:

7:30 - 9:00 am

Breakfast is available for all participants

9:00 am

INTRODUCTION AND FRAMEWORK OF THE CONFERENCE

This conference is organized into roundtable conversations and pre-dinner and post-dinner remarks. This segment will highlight how the conference will be conducted, how those with questions will be recognized, and how responses will be timed to allow for as many questions and answers as possible.

Charles W. Dent, Executive Director, Aspen Institute Congressional Program

9:15 am

Roundtable Discussion

WHAT CHINA WANTS:

XI JINPING AND CHINA'S VISION OF GLOBAL LEADERSHIP

We know more about China's capabilities than its intentions, which are largely determined by its confident, ambitious, and enigmatic leader, Xi Jinping. Xi's China is powerful, but constrained; rich, but unevenly developed. In 2022, Xi Jinping is

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likely to extend his rule, against the tradition of the Chinese Communist Party, to reach for global leadership, despite increased distrust of Beijing around the world.

- Which core beliefs and experiences shape Xi's leadership?
- What is Xi's vision for China and its place in the region and the world?
- Does China seek the overthrow, revision, or refinement of existing international systems?
- Are we witnessing the formation of an authoritarian bloc, led by China and including Russia and Iran, determined to oppose the West?

Elizabeth Economy, Senior Fellow, The Hoover Institution

10:45 am

Roundtable Discussion

U.S.-CHINA TECH COMPETITION

One point Washington and Beijing agree on is that the nation that leads the development, marketization, and regulation of emerging technologies will lead other global systems as well; technology is the key to military, economic, and soft power. The U.S. faces a dilemma: Its power to innovate rests on the internationalization and openness of its research institutions, yet that openness can also benefit adversaries and makes the U.S. vulnerable to espionage and theft of intellectual property.

- What does the tech scorecard look like? Where does the U.S. lead? Where does China dominate? Where can the two nations cooperate?
- Is it possible for American companies to, as former Secretary of State Mike Pompeo put it, be "both profitable and patriotic" with respect to China?
- How great is the threat of China to America's technological well-being?
- How should American universities and other parts of the innovation ecosystem protect themselves from infiltration while retaining openness?
- Are we destined for technological decoupling, and what would its costs be?

Peter F. Cowhey, Dean and Qualcomm Chair Emeritus, School of Global Policy and Strategy, University of California at San Diego Anja Manuel, Co-Founder and Partner, Rice, Hadley, Gates and Manuel, LLC Director, Aspen Strategy Group

12:15 – 1:00 pm

Working Luncheon

Discussion continues between members of Congress and scholars on the challenges for long-term strategic competition with China.

1:00 - 2:30 pm

Roundtable Discussion

TRADE, INVESTMENT, AND PUBLIC GOODS

China's wealth complicates every facet of bilateral competition. American consumers benefit from low-priced Chinese goods. American corporations can't thrive on the world stage if they're not involved in the Chinese market, yet that involvement gives China leverage. Beijing uses this leverage around the world to bind other nations to China, buying their acquiescence to Chinese prerogatives. China's domestic economic reforms, however, may point to a cooling-off in Chinese economic diplomacy, and may even lead to China's economic disengagement from the U.S. in some sectors. How is the balance of economic competition and cooperation likely to shift over the next few years?

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- What is China's "dual circulation" strategy, and what is its relevance?
- Does the United States still benefit from trade with China?
- Does the retention of Phase I tariffs help or harm the U.S. economy?
- Will there be a Phase II agreement that covers structural issues in U.S.-China economic relations?
- Is China coercing other countries economically and, if so, does coercion succeed?
- Where does the Belt & Road Initiative stand? Is it succeeding or failing?

Barry Naughton, Chair of Chinese International Affairs University of California at San Diego

2:30 - 4:00 pm

Individual Discussions

Members of Congress and scholars meet individually to discuss U.S. policy toward China. Scholars available to meet individually with members of Congress for indepth discussion of ideas raised in the morning sessions include Elizabeth Economy, Peter Cowhey, Anja Manuel, Barry Naughton and Susan Shirk.

5:00 - 6:00 pm

Pre-Dinner Remarks

XINJIANG AND HUMAN RIGHTS IN CHINA

The Biden Administration claims to put human rights at the forefront of American foreign policy. Xi Jinping's buildout of a techno-totalitarian surveillance state, his actions in Hong Kong and Tibet, and his silencing of critical voices in academia, the press, and the professions have made the CCP's values and governance model matters of grave worldwide concern. In the run-up to the 2022 Beijing Winter Olympics, Beijing's treatment of the Muslim Uighurs in Xinjiang has become the most prominent test of the U.S. commitment to the promotion of human rights.

- Can the U.S. Congress have an impact on human rights practices in China and, if so, how?
- Do American/international sanctions and censure have any impact on Beijing's behavior?
- What do Chinese people in China make of the human rights debate? Do they long for a free and democratic nation?
- How should the United States approach the Beijing Olympics, in light of China's treatment of Uighur Muslims?

Minxin Pei, Professor of Government, Claremont McKenna College

6:00 - 8:30 pm

Working Dinner

Seating is arranged to expose participants to a diverse range of views and provide the opportunity for a meaningful exchange of ideas. Scholars and lawmakers are rotated daily. Discussion will focus on the opportunities, challenges and potential solutions regarding long-term strategic competition with China.

8:30 – 9:30 pm

Post-Dinner Informal Discussion

SEMICONDUCTORS: THE KEY AREA OF COMPETITION

China cannot achieve its goals without access to the global semiconductor supply chain. The United States ad a growing list of allies are determined to limit that access. access. Governments and companies caught up in the tug-of-war are pressured to take sides.

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- What are the financial and diplomatic costs of the chip war?
- What does it portend for global innovation and the health of U.S. tech companies?
- Is the current shortage of semiconductors, which is impacting manufacturing and businesses in the U.S., connected to this competition in any way?

Donald Rosenberg, Executive Vice President, Qualcomm

SATURDAY, September 11:

7:30 am

Moment of silence in honor of the 20th anniversary of September 11th

7:30 – 9:00 am

Breakfast Remarks

U.S.-CHINA VALUES COMPETITION

It is now commonplace to claim that the U.S. and China are engaged in an *ideological* or *values* competition, but what does that mean? How are such competitions conducted, and what implications does this have for policy decisions? Will the outcome of this values competition be determined by competence, with the nation seen as delivering the most goods for its own people and the world coming out on top?

- Which Chinese and American core values are fundamentally at odds?
- Do other Asian nations see China as the source of and representative for distinctly Asian or Confucian values?
- What does Xi Jinping mean when he claims universal values are nonexistent, but promotes common values?
- What is the relationship between *values* and *power* in Sino-U.S. relations and the superpower's quest for global leadership?

Erin Baggott Carter, Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science and International Relations, University of Southern California

9:00 am

Roundtable Discussion

TAIWAN AND THE INDO-PACIFIC

The Western Pacific is more crowded and dangerous than it was a decade ago. While territorial disputes in the South and East China Seas continue to simmer, it is the prospect of war in the Taiwan Straits that most alarms Defense Department planners. Many in Washington are convinced that Xi Jinping will move on Taiwan at some point in his tenure. What are the prospects for such aggression, and what does this mean for Taiwan and the United States should it occur?

- What is the likelihood that China will make a decisive move to reclaim Taiwan over the next ten years? Before 2049? If so, what are the likely consequences for the U.S.?
- How great is the threat of military conflict in the South China Sea and East China Sea?
- How do American and Chinese capabilities match up in any plausible warfighting scenario in the Western Pacific?
- Can the Quad (India, Japan, Australia and the U.S.) make a real difference in the Indo-Pacific?
- Should the United States aim for military pre-eminence or a sustainable balance of power in the region?

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• Which reasonable/inevitable Chinese military interests in the Indo-Pacific should be accommodated by the U.S. and its allies? Which are destabilizing and must be opposed?

Nico Ravanilla, Assistant Professor, School of Global Policy & Strategy University of California at San Diego Matthew Turpin, Visiting Fellow, Hoover Institution

10:45 am

Roundtable Discussion

VIEWS OF ASIAN AND EUROPEAN ALLIES

The United States is reaching out to partners and allies to join it in opposing threatening and illiberal aspects of Chinese power. U.S. allies are a diverse group, politically and economically, and they have diverse interests. Most value their economic relations with China, even as their worries about China's intentions grow. Despite widespread distrust of Chinese actions, America's domestic turmoil raises questions about our hegemonic staying power, encouraging some allies to hedge their bets between the superpowers rather than antagonize Beijing.

- What are the major points of agreement and disagreement concerning Chinese power among our Asian and European allies?
- It is often said that third world countries "do not want to choose" between the U.S. and China – is that position sustainable, or are events likely to force a choice?
- Internationally, how do doubts about the U.S. compare to wariness toward China?
- Which types of diplomacy might result in broader global support for American positions?

Orville Schell, Director, Center on U.S.-China Relations The Asia Society

12:15 – 1:00 pm

Working Luncheon

Discussion continues between members of Congress and scholars on the challenges for long-term strategic competition with China.

1:00 - 2:30 pm

Roundtable Discussion

POLICY IMPLICATIONS FOR THE U.S.

Robert Daly will offer a brief summary of the discussions and highlight policy recommendations made thus far. Participants are encouraged to suggest ideas for legislative action.

- What are the United States' core interests with regard to China?
- What are the obstacles to advancing those interests?
- What impact does the polarization of American politics and society have on our ability to meet the China challenge?
- What is the right balance of competition and cooperation in U.S.-China relations? Or is cooperation already impossible?
- How does the China challenge relate to the other epochal threats and transformations facing the U.S. and the world, such as climate change, pandemics, managing new technologies, mass migration, and global inequality?

Date: September 14, 2021

 If war with China is to be avoided, will the United States need to change?

Robert Daly, Director, The Kissinger Institute on China and the U.S.

The Wilson Center

6:30 – 8:30 pm

Working Dinner

Seating is arranged to expose participants to a diverse range of views and to provide the opportunity for a meaningful exchange of ideas. Scholars and lawmakers are rotated daily. Discussion will focus on the opportunities, challenges, and potential solutions regarding long-term strategic competition with China.

SUNDAY, September 12:

Participants depart San Diego early in the day

Sen. Carper and Mrs. Carper depart San Diego at 9:15 am on American 433 and arrive in Philadelphia at 5:36 pm



Charlie Dent

Executive Director

Congressional Program

June 15, 2021

The Honorable Thomas Carper United States Senate Washington, DC 20510

Dear Tom:

I would like to invite you and Martha to participate in a congressional conference on **Strengthening the Foundation for Long-Term Strategic Competition with China**, which will be held September 9-12, 2021, including travel, in San Diego, California. We have limited space and must hear from you proactively as soon as possible if you wish to participate.

We have assembled a team of experts to lead our discussions, half of which are prestigious scholars from the University of California at San Diego. The agenda will cover the competition between China and the U.S. in technology, global leadership, values, military posture, Xinjiang and human rights, and trade & investment. This is a great opportunity for Members to engage directly with many of the country's leading scholars on our most challenging and consequential relationship and to hear a range of analysis to allow you to be better informed when making important policy decisions. An agenda outline is attached.

We are optimistic that the circumstances related to COVID will continue to improve. We will follow any COVID safety protocols required by authorities.

Attendance is by invitation only, with no outside observers, lobbyists, or congressional staff. Funding is provided solely by grants from established foundations—no government, individual, corporate or special interest funds are accepted.

Under guidelines established by the Senate Select Ethics Committee, we will provide you with a signed Private Sponsor Travel Certification Form affirming that no lobbyists fund this activity, that the Aspen Institute does hire or retain lobbyists, and that no lobbyists will be present. Our purpose is education, not advocacy.

This program is designed for Members of both the Senate and the House. Please note that because the House has adopted rules that preclude registered lobbyists from attending our events, if your accompanying spouse or family member is a registered lobbyist, the rules would bar their participation.



2300 N St., NW

Suite 700

Washington, DC 20037

PH 202.736.5825

FX 202.785-2737

www.aspeninstitute.org



June 15, 2021 Page Two

Departure will be on Thursday, September 9th and we will return on Sunday, September 12th. Should you accept the invitation, it is required that you participate through the duration of the conference.

Travel expenses, including airfare, meals, lodging, and meeting facilities will be paid by the Aspen Institute Congressional Program. Under the ethics rules, no expenses are covered for entertainment or recreation. Congressional participants are limited to only one accompanying family member.

The Aspen Institute, an independent, nonprofit organization founded in 1950, provides a nonpartisan, neutral forum for leaders to discuss critical issues. The Institute's Congressional Program is designed to promote leadership on selected public policy issues in the Congress by bringing legislators together with internationally-recognized scholars and analysts in high-level discussion. Since the program's inception, over 465 Members of Congress have participated in the 143 conferences we have conducted.

I took over leadership of this program in February after the retirement of Dan Glickman, who led the program for the last decade. I served in the U.S. House of Representatives for nearly 14 years from 2005-2018 as a Republican on the Appropriations Committee and was Chair of the Ethics Committee.

Additionally, we hold digital morning meetings in the Capitol throughout the year to keep Members of Congress up-to-date between our annual conferences. We hope you will be able to participate in the extended educational offerings of our breakfast series.

If you have any questions, please feel free to call me on my cell phone at 484-553-1837.

We hope you will join us for this important conference.

Sincerely,

Charles W. Dent Member (2005-2018)